making real, in all the relations of life, of the revelations of truth and right. Where there is no vision men perish. Likewise, where the vision is allowed to vanish as a cloud of vapor or a breath of smoke, the children of men suffer lack of their true inheritence, and the coming of the Kingdom of God is impeded. "The gift whose recompense is doubled" is the portion of all those who strive without weariness or shadow of turning to incorporate in the life of this world the ideal impulses which arise from that inward shrine where the soul sees and knows itself in the likeness of the Divine.

I close with a word from Dr. Charles F. Dole in his book on "The Coming Religion." "Men have thought that they could command delicious spiritual experiences, alone with God in closets and cloisters, by fasting and prayers, apart from their fellows, exempt from the laws of a world of mutual toil and helpfulness! As soon expect water in the house without making connection with the great main. The natural law of spiritual circulation of the universe is that the peace of God will flow into the life of faithful and friendly men. It cannot flow to the unfaithful or the unfriendly. It is not merely a relation between the individual and God. It also binds each man with all men."

CHARTER MAKING IN AMERICA AND EFFECTIVE VOTING.

C. G. Hoag, in the March "Representation," the Journal of the British Proportional Representation Society.*

The movement in America for the radical change of city charters offers proportionalists a rare opportunity. Not only are the cities involved numerous, but proportional representation can be shown to be precisely what is needed to correct the defects of both the old and the new charters.

The old charters, as a rule, provided that not only councillors but many executive officials should be elected at the polls. This wore a semblance of democracy, but in fact, as experience proved, it delivered the voters into the hands of self-seeking politicians. As most voters could have no first-hand knowledge of the candidates for so many offices, they were driven to voting some party ticket; and in the making up of those tickets, each of which had to bind together in mutual support many obscure candidates and jostling interests, public-spirited citizens were seldom a match for inferior men who depended on office-holding and other rewards of party service for a livelihood.

"Commission" Government.

This defect is largely overcome in the new charters on the so-called "Commission plan." The Des Moines charter, for example, which is typical of these, provides that only five officials, called councillors, shall be elected at the polls, and that these five shall exercise all the city's executive powers and also all its legislative powers except in so far as these latter may be exercised by the people themselves under the "referendum" and the "initiative," which are explicitly reserved. This substitutes for the "long ballot" of obscure names a "short ballot" of known names, thus making intelligent selection by the voters possible and minimizing the power of professional politicians.

Inextricably connected with the defect of the old charters just mentioned was another, their elaborate system of "checks and balances," by which it was intended that one official or department should prevent the abuse of power by any other, but by which in reality any official or department could evade responsibility. This also the commission charters obviate; by giving the five councillors sweeping powers and freedom of action, they remove all doubt about who is responsible for results.

As was to be expected, a type of charter embodying such radical improvements is giving much better satisfaction than the type it supplanted. It is to be hoped, however, that before it is adopted in the cities which as yet have made no change—and which, after all, constitute the great majority—it will be amended itself.

Its first defect is its failure to put the chief executive offices on a professional basis. Though it makes each councillor a real as well as a titular executive chief by paying him a salary and making him personally responsible for the management of one of the five departments into which it divides the executive branch of the government, it provides that he shall be elected for the short term of two years, that he shall be elected by the whole body of voters at the polls, and that he shall constitute one-fifth of the only legislative assembly of the city. To put an official on a professional basis it is necessary, of course, to provide that he shall serve indefinitely if only he serves creditably, that he shall be selected and retained by some person or group of persons acquainted with the requirements of his office and competent to judge, after thorough inquiry, of his special qualifications for it, and that his political opinions shall not be confused with his qualifications for purely executive duties.

Its Defects and Their Remedy.

In England and in Prussia the problem of put-

*In a note appended to his article Mr. Hoag says that "American readers may already know of the American Proportional Representation League, which has members in all parts of the United States and Canada. Mr. Robert Tyson, the Secretary of the League, 20 Harbord Street, Toronto, Canada, or Mr. Wm. Hoag, a member of the Committee, 19 Milk Street, Boston, Mass., would be very pleased to forward information and pamphlets on application."

ting the chief executives on a professional basis has been solved, with results that evoke the constant praises of American municipal reformers. The English town clerk and the Prussian *burgermeister* are chosen by the legislative council—which is itself elected at the polls—after full inquiry into the training, experience and other qualifications of the applicants; and they are retained in office as long as they are satisfactory to the same competent body. This solution is obvious enough, of course, and its success in Europe has not failed to attract attention in America. But the Americans did not adopt it for themselves simply because they did not trust their city councils.

It is in this connection that effective voting or proportional representation makes one of its strongest claims on the attention of American charter makers. Any political device that insures the election of a legislative council truly representative in opinion and, at the same time, much above the average voter in ability and political experience, removes every rational objection to putting the chief executive offices of American cities on a professional basis by the means that has been proved satisfactory in England and Prussia. And such a political device effective voting can be shown to be.

The second defect in the Commission plan is that it requires the voters to choose between leaving the work of legislation to five men elected by the block vote and doing it themselves by recourse to the initiative and referendum. The first course is legislating through a body obviously unfit for such work, which demands the representation of every important interest and opinion, and the second is dispensing with all opportunity for debate and amendment.

Fortunately this second defect of the new plan of government would be remedied by the same device that would remedy the first one, viz.: the election of the council—enlarged to from nine to thirty members, say, according to the population of the city—by effective voting; that is, by the single transferable vote in many-membered constituencies. The legislation of a council elected thus is at once in accordance with the people's will and free from the weakness that only a legislative chamber, with its patient work through committees and its open debates, can eliminate. With such a council to make their ordinances, the voters would seldom if ever fall back on the initiative and the referendum, much as they might prize these rights as safeguards of democracy in possible emergencies; normally they would prefer the ordinances made by their representative leaders, who would constitute the council if the voting methods were made effective, to those they could make themselves under the vastly less favorable conditions afforded by the polls.

Thus the weaknesses of the American commission charters on both the executive and the legislative side can be eliminated at a stroke by enlarging the council a little, electing it by the single transferable vote in many-membered constituencies, and letting it appoint the chief executives instead of assuming their functions.

It is not as if a council made truly representative by effective voting had never been tried as the basis of city government; such a council is already performing just that function in Johannesburg and in Pretoria. The system by which it is elected there, its powers, and the character of the government founded upon it, we commend to the attention of American municipal reformers.

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THE THRAMPIN' BODY.

Augusta Hancock in the London Daily News.

They say I'm ould for roamin' an' they tell me I should rest
'Twixt four walls in the village that's down yonder to the West,
But och! I've thramp'd the wide roads, wet or fine, the long years thro',
An' the stars have been my lanterns, an' my bedroom dom'd with blue.

They tried to make me tarry down below this very day,
An' it breaks my heart entirely just to say such kind souls nay,
But och! they're just accustom'd to indoors for man an' baste,
An' they'd never guess my heart's want o' the wind across the waste.

They pray'd me sit a moment by the peat-fire's hearth o' red,
An' they fill'd the bowl with sweet milk, an' they broke me barley bread,
An' I supp'd an' all to please them, but a crust I'd relish more
On the slope above Slieve Deelish where the throbbin' moorlarks soar.

They're kind folk in the valley, an' they think I'm ould to roam,
But they've never known the glory of the whole world for your home,
An' I'm prayin' morn an' evenin', yes, an' whiles throughout the day
That it plase the Lord to call me while I still can thramp my way.

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"Mamma," said Johnny, "if you will let me go just this one time, I won't ask for anything to eat."

"All right," said the mother. "Get your hat."

Johnny, perched on the edge of a big chair, became restless as savory odors came from the region of the kitchen. At last he blurted out:

"There's lots of pie and cake in this house."

The admonishing face of his mother recalled his promise, and he added:

"But what's that to me?"—Success Magazine.